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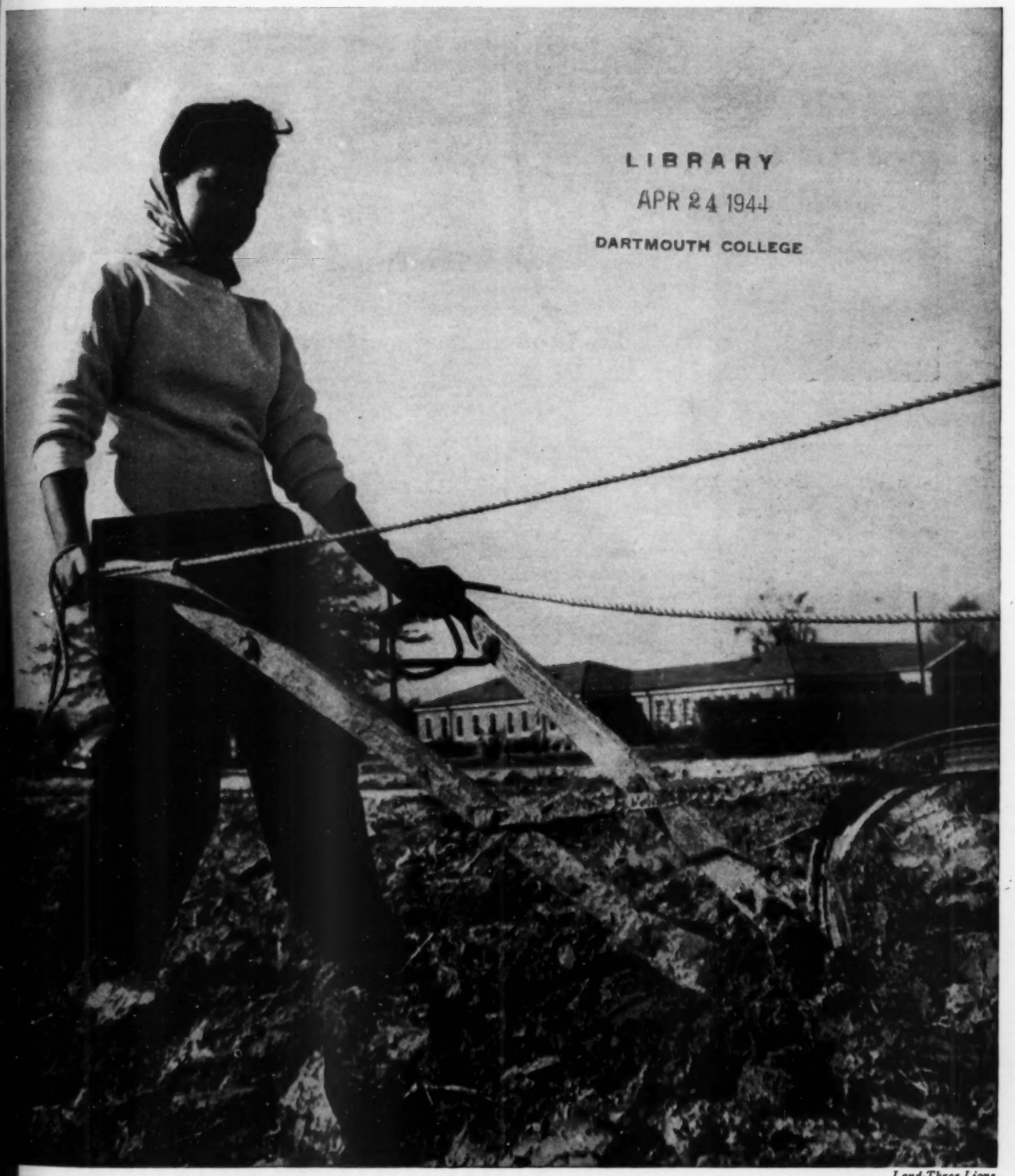

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College and School News

Lincoln University (Mo.) has indefinitely discontinued its formal program of intercollegiate activities owing to war-time conditions.

Two additional graduates of the Law School have been admitted to the Missouri bar, making a total of eight who have successfully passed the examination out of the ten graduates of the school during its brief life of four years. Three of the new lawyers are women.

Atlanta University has announced the death of Dean Sage, chairman of its board of trustees. During his chairmanship the university endowment jumped from one million to four million dollars. He secured many wealthy donors.

Knoxville College announces that Dean Hardy Liston has accepted the position of executive vice-president of Johnson C. Smith University. A native of South Carolina, he has degrees from Biddle and Chicago universities. He is president of the National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars in Negro Schools, and a member of many educational organizations.

Dr. Charles W. Buggs, chairman of the division of science at Dillard University did summer post-doctoral study at Woods Hole, Mass., famed research haven for biologists.

In an effort to promote general understanding of the problems of race relations, the University of Toledo has offered a course in the subject every year since 1931, except last year. The course is offered for regular credit in Sociology or may be audited. The instructor is widely versed in her subject, is a member of the Negro race, is of national prominence in her field and is equipped with a broad education. The instructor is Mrs. Constance Ridley Heslip.

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ing Program units, and an initial group of 150 army men will receive instruction there.

Summer graduation exercises were held on August 13, when 52 candidates were graduated.

Sherman Hamlin Guss, who for 37 years was a member of the faculty, died at his home in Institute, W. Va., on July 26. Born in Middleport, O., he was the first Negro to receive a degree from Ohio State University. He was principal of Clarksburg (W. Va.) high school from 1892 to 1904, and principal of the college's high school from 1904 to 1934, retiring in 1941. He was organized and founder of the State Teachers Association and prominent in the American Teachers Association.

Commencement exercises of the **Florida Normal and Industrial Institute** Victory Summer School was held August 13. There were 50 summer school graduates. The session enrolled more than 400 teachers.

Dr. Harold E. Finley, professor of biology at **Morehouse College**, has been elected to active membership in the American Society of Zoologists of which he was formerly an associate. He is the only Negro on the active membership list.

Dr. Hugh M. Gloster, member of the English department, has been granted a leave of absence to accept a post as U S O director. He is the founder and first president of the Association of Teachers of Language in Negro Colleges.

Berean School held its 43rd annual commencement on June 3, graduating 28 for full courses, while 26 received the first special certificate award for accelerated courses in business training. Mrs. Sunie Steele Warrick, Group Service Branch of Consumers' Division, Washington, D. C., was chairman of the panel on "The Role of Consumer Education and the War".

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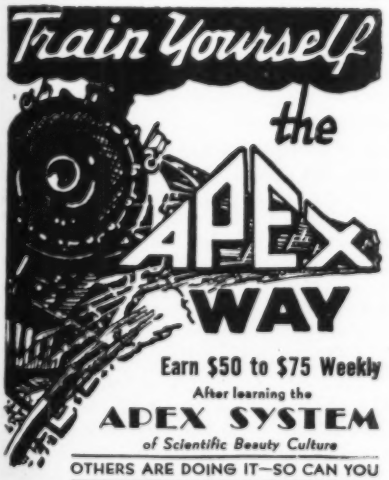

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For the third successive year Bennett has closed its enrollment in July, with the admittance of 100 freshmen from 15 states.

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(*Continued on page 284*)

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Vol. 50, No. 9 *Whole Number 393*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at* 69 *Fifth Avenue, N. Y., by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15*¢ a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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NEXT MONTH

Ernest Johnson of the Associated Negro Press who accompanied President Edwin Barclay of Liberia on his American tour will have an article analyzing the Liberian Mission to the United States.

There will be also an article on the work of the CIO in combatting racial discrimination within and without the ranks of organized labor.

The story by Chester B. Himes, "So Softly Smiling," promised for September, will appear in October.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Rayford W. Logan of the department of history at Howard university is an authority on colonial government over darker peoples, especially the Caribbean.

Dr. Benjamin Quarles is professor of history at Dillard university in New Orleans.

Charles Enoch Wheeler, whose poem "Freedom's Cry" we are pleased to carry in this issue, has done a deal of writing of poetry and his work has appeared in numerous publications. *The Crisis* hopes to have more of his verse from time to time.

Editorials

The Harlem Riot

THERE were many sound, sensible editorial expressions on the Harlem riot from all sections of the country, but of the 346 daily newspaper editorials examined in this office, the one by the Richmond, Va., *Times Dispatch* easily ranks with the worst. To counteract the *Times Dispatch,* easily one of the best was from the neighboring Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot.* Louis I. Jaffe is still the scholarly and thoughtful editor of the Norfolk morning daily, while our old "friend," Virginius Dabney bosses the editorial page of the Richmond morning paper.

Dabney's diatribe entitled, "Dixie's Fault, Of Course," is unworthy of him, even considering his obsession with the idea that northern Negro agitators are responsible for all the racial tension in the country. Dabney sneers at the idea that mistreatment of Negro soldiers in the South could have had anything whatsoever to do with sparking the riot of August 1-2 in far-away Harlem. It is this type of thinking which has made riots possible, this failure to realize that there is widespread knowledge and resentment of the general treatment of the race and particularly of the Negro soldier.

A soldier in uniform was shot by a policeman in Harlem. The question of who was right and who was wrong at the moment did not interest the mob. Mobs, white or black, don't reason. The white Beaumont mob did not reason. A white woman had not been raped, but you could not tell them that—not that night. So, in Harlem the wildfire story was of the shooting of a Negro soldier in uniform by a civilian policeman.

Negro soldiers have been shot down by civilian police in Alexandria, La., in Little Rock, Ark., in Baltimore, Md., in Beaumont, Tex., and in a half dozen other places. They have been humiliated, manhandled, and beaten in countless instances.

The Harlem mob knew all this. It hated all this. It could not reach the Arkansas cop who fired a full magazine of his revolver into the prone body of a Negro sergeant, or any of the others, so it tore up Harlem. It was a wild, senseless, criminal action, the boiling over of people who felt they could not get the Dabneys, the Connallys, or even the Roosevelts, much less the War department, the governors, the mayors, the chiefs of police to listen and act.

For his own purposes Dabney has caricatured the picture. Harlem's riot was not exclusively and solely the fault of Dixie. It was New York City's riot and New York City must bear its share of blame. All the old problems are there; and New York is a part of America, in many ways very like Dixie. But the stimulant in this particular instance did come from below the Mason and Dixon line; every Negro feels that in his bones, and white men, in Richmond as in New York, should understand it. In the minds of Harlemites that Sunday night the gun in the hands of a good New York policeman doing his duty was the gun in the hands of Dixie cops shooting down men in the uniform, if you please, of the Army of Democracy. That's the fact, much too big and much too bitter to be laughed away.

Labor-Negro Politics

ORGANIZED labor is up in arms over the anti-labor, generally reactionary performance of the Congress during the first seven months of 1943. The CIO has held several conferences on political action and has set up an organization whose object is to work for the defeat of anti-labor representatives and senators. The A. F. of L. is also studying political action.

What stirred Labor more than any other one item was the passage of the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill. Negroes know all about the men who have led the anti-labor drive in Congress. They are the same men who have led anti-Negro drives where such drives have been necessary. They have blocked the Negro's legitimate aspirations at every turn. They have fought anti-lynching bills, anti-poll tax bills. They chopped down the OWI appropriation because OWI had printed a booklet about Negroes and the war. They wiped out NYA because NYA was training Negroes for industrial jobs. They came within a hairsbreadth of killing FSA, and one of the main reasons was that FSA was aiding Negro tenants and sharecroppers to become small farm owners.

The whole story is not as simple as that, because many factors enter into a political equation, but in general it may be said that the men who fight Negroes also fight labor.

Tom Connally, for example, co-author of the anti-strike bill, led the filibuster in the Senate against the anti-lynching bill.

Negroes are also aroused over the antics of the 78th Congress and are determined to act in the coming elections. They have watched northern Republicans and Democrats join the southern anti-Negro reactionaries from poll-tax states to defeat measures which would have aided the Negro and to pass measures which have hurt him.

There are signs that organized labor at last realizes that anti-Negro Congressmen are the enemies of Labor. Negroes are slowly learning that people who fight labor are fighting Negroes as well. If their political leaders are smart, Negroes and Labor will work out a joint program of action. A good beginning project is the anti-poll tax bill. Until the poll tax is wiped away, Labor hasn't a chance of reaching the men who now lead the reactionaries.

The strategy obviously indicated for the present is for Labor and the Negro to say to northern and western senators that they dare not join with the poll taxers on this legislation, that any filibuster on it must be broken, and that those who connive or who sit idly by must answer to both Negro and Labor voters at the polls.

Forced Labor Again

IT is reported in no less a journal than the esteemed and well-informed New York *Herald Tribune* that President Roosevelt has been won over to the view that Congress must pass a bill to draft labor.

The Congress now has before it the Austin-Wadsworth bill which is not even a thinly disguised forced labor act. It takes little imagination for colored people to understand what such a bill will do to them. It will place in the hands of administrators the right to freeze Negroes in certain types of work, to remove them from some localities and jobs and force them to new places and new work. There will be virtually no chance to escape from low-paid occupations to better paid jobs.

Such a bill would be bad enough if there were iron-clad guarantees that the color line would be ignored in its administration, but everyone knows no such guarantees can be given or enforced. In the section where most Negroes live, and where they receive the lowest wages, they would be, if the Austin-Wadsworth bill is passed, at the mercy of the people who now exploit them, and who are angry at the whole war program for "luring" them away from the starvation wages and miserable working conditions of the area.

The Austin-Wadsworth bill should be defeated.

Smuts Speaks of Africa, 1917-1942

By Rayford W. Logan

FIELD Marshal Jan Christian Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, a British Dominion, probably ranks second only to Churchill in the influence that he wields both within and without the British Commonwealth and Empire. Frequent reports about a forthcoming visit to the United States make timely an examination of Smuts's views on African policies.

In this article I have presented these views as he has expressed them over a period of twenty-five years. Only in this way can the reader judge for himself whether Smuts is "one of the most vicious forces in the world today" or "one of the great statesmen of the modern world." Above all, one can compare what changes if any he has made in his views between World War I and World War II. This comparison is especially important with respect to segregation which, according to some persons in the United States, he has now abandoned.

The problem in South Africa, which consists of the four provinces of the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal, is an extremely difficult one. Whereas in the United States the white people are in a large majority, in the Union some 2,000,000 Britons and Boers live in the midst of about 250,000 Asiatics, some 7,000,000 Africans[1] and about 800,000 Coloured, many of whom can hardly be distinguished from Europeans.

Land and labor, in the opinion of practically all writers on Africa, are the crucial factors. If the Native Land and Trust Act of 1936 should be carried out, the total land available for occupation by Africans, who constitute eighty-eight per cent of the rural population, will amount to about thirteen per cent. At the present time the Africans, almost nine-tenths of the rural population, have about one-tenth of the land.

The so-called Colour Bar Law of 1926 authorizes the government to make regulations providing that certificates of competency shall be granted only to Europeans and to certain classes of Coloured persons. In practice the law applies almost wholly to certain mining operations. But the trade unions effectively bar skilled African and Coloured workers in practically all skilled trades.

[1] The term "Africans" as used here is something of a misnomer since permanent European settlers also have the right to be called Africans. I am using the term in preference to "Natives," except in direct quotations, because "Natives" is offensive even when spelled with a capital letter.

The American Negro can see the parallels between South African philosophy and the practices in Dixie, although Dixie is, admittedly, far in advance of Smuts

European workers in South Africa are among the most highly paid in the world. They receive these abnormally high wages because the African and Coloured workers are grossly underpaid. According to Lord Hailey's *African Survey* (p. 684), "the general ratio of native to European wages [in the secondary industries] would appear to be roughly 1 to 5, as compared with 1 to 8, or 1 to 6 . . . in the mines. In Europe the common ratio of skilled to unskilled wages is estimated at 7 to 5 in the building and engineering trades."

The franchise was limited until 1936, as far as Africans and Coloured were concerned, almost entirely to a few in the Cape Province. In 1853 they were given the right to vote and theoretically to elect Africans and Coloured to the South African Parliament. This latter right was withdrawn in 1909. In 1934 there were only about 10,000 African and Coloured voters in the Cape, about 2.7 per cent of the total electorate. In Natal registration was made so difficult that there were never more than three Africans who had acquired the right to vote. In Transvaal and Orange Free State, Africans and Coloured had never exercised the right to vote for members of Parliament. A decisive change was made in 1936. The Representation of Natives Act changed the Cape franchise so that the Africans and Coloured, instead of voting in a general election for white members of the South African Parliament, now vote in a separate election for three European members of the Lower House and for two white members of the Provincial Council. This Act also extended the franchise to a small number of Africans and Coloured in the three other provinces. Together with the Africans and Coloured in the Cape they vote for four Europeans in the Senate who deal with "Native Affairs" and for twelve African and Coloured members of the Natives Representative Council. Of the other ten members of this Council, four are nominated African and Coloured and six are nominated whites. The Council has only advisory powers. In 1930 the European franchise had been extended to all white women over twenty-one.

The idea of trusteeship gained international attention when it was made one of the underlying principles of the Mandate System, established by Article XXII of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It means, in the words of that article, "that the well-being and development" of backward peoples "form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandataries on behalf of the League."

General Smuts' attitude on the participation of Africans in the armed forces of their country was also made clear in this same article. It provides for the prevention "of military training of natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory."

Africans Called Simple

Against this introductory background, let us now examine Smuts' own statements of his views and policies. In May, 1917, in London he emphasized the necessity for unity between the two white races "because in South Africa we are not only a white man's country. Our problem of racial unity is being solved in the midst of a black environment." Some people doubted that they would ever succeed in "making a white man's land of Southern Africa; but at any rate we mean to press on with the experiment." Unfortunately, some Christian missionaries in the first part of the nineteenth century had married African wives "to prove their full belief in human brotherhood." Now, however, "we have gained sufficient experience . . . to smile at that point of view. With us there are certain axioms now in regard to the relations of white and black; and the principal one is 'no intermixture of blood between the two colours.' . . . It has now become an accepted axiom in our dealings with the natives that it is dishonourable to mix white and black blood." (He repeated in 1937 his oppo-

sition to the "stigma" of mixed marriages.)[2]

The Africans, he continued, "have the simplest minds, understand only the simplest ideas or ideals, and are almost animal-like in the simplicity of their minds and ways." A successful African policy would therefore have to proceed along the simplest moral lines. The policy in which he placed his faith was "Parallelism" which he explained as follows: "Instead of mixing up black and white in the old hap-hazard way, which instead of lifting up the black degraded the white, we are now trying to lay down a policy of keeping them apart, and in that way laying down in outline a general policy which it may take a hundred years to work out, but which in the end may be the solution of our native problem. Thus in South Africa you will have in the long run areas cultivated by blacks and governed by blacks, where they will look after themselves in all their forms of living and development while in the rest of the country you will have your white communities, which will govern themselves separately according to accepted European principles. The natives will, of course, be free to go and work in white areas, but as far as possible the administration of white and black areas will be separate."

Smuts then alluded to a serious danger which threatened not only Southern Africa but also Europe, namely, powerful black armies. He hoped that "one of the results of this war will be some arrangement or convention among the nations interested in Central Africa by which the military training of natives will be prevented, as we have prevented it in South Africa."[3]

On May 27, 1920, he again advocated local self-government for the Africans "before marching forward along the path of territorial segregation, which still remains the goal." He especially advocated local self-government at that time because the existing educational system was "wholly unsuited to native needs and positively pernicious, leading the native to a dead wall over which he is unable to rise. There he becomes a ready prey for the agitator aiming at poisoning his mind against the European." In October of that year he expressed his fear of a small but growing political party which was trying to bring about "a social and economic revolution and behind them was the spectre of Bolshevism, which made even the Labourites nervous. And the natives meantime, observing all this, had begun to talk of their African Republic."[4]

[2] *Cape Argus* (Capetown, South Africa), October 16, 1937, p. 17. The *Cape Argus* is generally considered Smuts's party organ.

[3] Smuts, *Plans for a Better World* (London, 1942), pp. 15–29.

ACME

Prime Minister General Smuts, Commander-in-Chief of the South African forces is shown here during a visit last year to the South African troops stationed in East Africa. Unlike Belgian Congo troops and the French Senegalese and some British West African troops, the South African fighting units are composed of white men only. South African natives are used only as laborers in line with Smuts' policy of not arming black troops

Opposed Colour Bar Bill

Smuts has been frequently praised for his opposition to the Colour Bar Bill already mentioned. This examination suggests that he has received too much praise. In various speeches, beginning February 25, 1925, he asked the Hertzog Government to withdraw the Bill and refer it to a Select Committee. He opposed the Bill, first because it denied the Africans economic opportunities before providing them with sufficient land in their reserves; second, because it placed a "stigma" upon Asiatics "in the grossest form by coupling natives and Asiatics"; third, because "the colour bar had never appeared in the legislation of the country and to put it into law, was an unnecessary affront to the natives"; fourth, because if the Bill were passed, "the natives would lose their confidence of receiving justice from the white man." When Hertzog refused to permit an African General Council to present a petition against the Bill, Smuts pointed

[4] *London Times*, May 28, 1920, p. 16; *ibid.*, October 29, 1920, p. 11.

out that the refusal would have "the very worst effect on the native mind," and he urged "the Government to go out of its way to stretch every rule of law and procedure to allow the natives and Asiatics whose rights are being taken away by a house in which they are practically unrepresented to be heard before the Select Committee." [7]

Early in 1926 when the Hertzog Government reintroduced the Bill, Smuts continued his opposition to it and demanded again that it be referred to a Select Committee before which the Africans would be permitted to appear. On February 4 the Bill passed the House, with Hertzog's supporters (except two) voting for it and Smuts' supporters solidly arrayed against it. In the closing debate Smuts took a position that has been generally overlooked: "The Opposition, General Smuts asserted, would have no objection to legalization of the Colour Bar as it has existed for the last 12 years. Let a Parliamentary draughtsman recast the Bill in such form that it went no further than stereotyping and legalising the existing colour bar, and the Opposition would consent to pass the measure as an agreed Bill." Some four months later he reiterated his regret that South Africa for the first time in her history had passed a law "which publicly and openly branded a very large portion of the people." The African had been told that "in this country of his birth and of his fathers he should remain a hewer of wood and a drawer of water." Smuts also stated again "that there had been a colour bar here for years and years and the native people had not bothered much about it." [8]

Against Minimum Wage

Smuts also opposed Hertzog's Minimum Wage Bill. While the cost of living was higher for the whites, he pointed out, then for the Africans, "the Minimum Wage Bill would place them all on an equality." The Bill would give the Africans far higher wages than they received at that time, "probably 5s. or 6s. [about $1.00 or $1.20] a day. He did not see it could be otherwise for a white man could not live on less and the wages of black and white were to be equal." Under these circumstances white workers would be preferred, but there simply were not enough white workers to meet the demand. The Bill excluded domestics and farm workers. "But would the natives on the farms be content to work for a small wage and food if they could get work in the towns for 5s. or 6s. a day?" South Africa, he further warned, "could only progress if existing circumstances were reckoned with. There must be a difference between the wages for white and black." He was not "opposed to the natives but the natives did not ask for the increased wages which were quite unnecessary." In another speech on the Bill he first praised the Africans for helping the Union to occupy a position of world importance "out of all proportion to our small white population." He then added: "The Wages Act now proposed to give natives equal pay with whites for the same work, and if that were done, the position would be impossible." Amid great applause he drove home the fact that the influential position which the Union held at Geneva was due "to many causes, and one was the reasonable use made of the natives for the development of South Africa." [9] According to Lord Hailey's *African Survey* (p. 1370) the Union, instead of adopting a Minimum Wage for even white workers has preferred to maintain a "civilized labour" policy by saying "that certain types of work should be reserved to white unskilled workers.

Africans "Not Ready" for Vote

Smuts also opposed Hertzog's Bill to extend the African franchise from Cape Province to the other three provinces. "The old traditions of South Africa," he insisted, "were opposed to the extension of the franchise to the native. He always held that they could not force Parliamentary institutions on people until they were ready for them. The natives should be taught gradually to rule themselves, but there should be no mingling of white and black. The natives should have their own small council and deal with their own interests. He doubted whether an Angel from Heaven could provide them with an instant solution of the question." [10]

Smuts strongly favored white immigration into the Union, since "our white population is steadily decreasing and it is humiliating to think that immigrants are passing by to go to Rhodesia, and that even our own white population are emigrating from the Union. We want to solve the national problem, not by suppressing the native population, but by strengthening the white population, and I hope that in the years to come we will be able to govern this country in such a way that the members of our white population will grow to such strength that they will feel there is no threat to their future from the natives." He went even further when in 1928 he stated that "he was willing, . . . to take anybody to his bosom, Jew or Gentile, coming to this country with a determination to make it big. A bigger white population would also solve South Africa's 'poor white' problem." [11]

In September, 1928, he made one of his rare speeches to a group of non-Europeans. A speaker on behalf of the African and Coloured people said that the Coloured people wanted a share in public employment, while the Africans wanted information about segregation, the proposed abolition of their franchise rights, and their ineligibility for old age pensions. In addition, they protested against the African poll tax. General Smuts in reply referred with appreciation to the way in which the African and Coloured population kept the laws of the country and the way in which they had stood by the Government during the bitter days of the last war. Many of the young Coloured people had gone with him to German East Africa and had fought with him, while many Africans had gone to work in France. "'I have never had before the opportunity to thank you,' said General Smuts, 'and I do so to-day. I hope you will always stay in the road of obedience to the law.'" He congratulated the African and Coloured people on the progress they had made. "Of course," he declared, "you cannot have as much done for you as is being done for the whites, but if you are patient your circumstances will always be improved." He also advised them to beware of agitators. Old-age pensions had been provided for only whites and Coloured, but not for the Africans. He hoped that once the Government had acquired "sufficient knowledge of the new scheme then the native population would also be taken into consideration." [12]

Politics "No Solution"

During the electoral campaign of 1928–1929 Smuts made some of his most important speeches. Early in the campaign he stated that his party, the South African Party (S A P S), "did not want the natives disturbed by politics; they wanted the natives to be fairly treated, and their policy was one of improved conditions, extension of councils and local self-government. They wanted to meet the practical needs of today instead of going afield, trying to inaugurate political changes which white people did not want, and of which the natives were suspicious." Later he reiterated that "'for me and my party the solution of the native question lies not in political development.'" The Africans did not "'hanker after political rights. . . . They do not want the right to vote. They want fair treatment. . . . In my opinion to

[7] *Ibid.*, February 26, 1925, p. 11; June 3, 1925, p. 11; June 27, 1925, p. 13; *Cape Argus*, April 14, 1925, p. 9; November 14, 1925, page not numbered.
[8] *London Times*, January 29, 1926, p. 11; February 5, 1926, p. 14; see also February 6, 1926, p. 11; *Cape Argus*, May 29, 1926, page not numbered.
[9] *Cape Argus*, April 14, 1925, p. 9; November 28, 1925, page not numbered.
[10] *Ibid.*, November 14, 1925, page not numbered; *London Times*, November 27, 1925, p. 13.
[11] *Cape Argus*, December 4, 1926, page not numbered; *London Times*, August 17, 1928, p. 6.
[12] *Cape Argus*, September 22, 1928, p. 12.

govern the native properly is of far more importance than worrying over his vote. The great danger to be guarded against is lawlessness among the natives. . . . The Government should follow this policy: let them treat the natives fairly, relieve them where the shoe pinches, and treat them firmly where there are dangerous movements.'" He was determined not to let the Hertzog Government raise the issue of a white South Africa, for such an issue "'can only result in misery for South Africans, both white and black.'"[13]

Later he asserted that "the Nationalist native policy, by giving franchise to the Coloured and native peoples, was a menace to white civilization. The greatest danger in General Hertzog's native policy, said General Smuts, was his proposal to extend the dangers which threatened the whites in the Cape to the Free State, Natal and Transvaal." He again denied that the policy of his party "contained anything that indicated the granting of equal rights to whites and natives." He did, however, insist that his Party stood for "'the fair treatment of the native people, with whom good relations should exist.'" Smuts then "accused" Prime Minister Hertzog of "having spoken in favour of giving the vote to the Cape Coloured women who had reached the same civilization as the white women at such time as the white women of the country were enfranchised." And yet, "'I am accused of wishing to extend the Cape native franchise to the North and of wishing to give the vote to the native women. I am not going to open the door to native franchise in the North unless I know that the people of South Africa are fully aware of the significance of the step. Neither am I going to take away the Cape native vote unless the matter has been given the fullest consideration.'"

Denies Shaking Hands

He criticised The Pact (the coalition of the Nationalist and Labour Parties) of paying Africans eight shillings a day on the railways while "white men with a family received 3s. 6d. or 5s. a day. This was not solving the poor white problem. It was making white men into Kaffirs. The S. A. P. would not dismiss a single man who could do his work, but they would see that white men lived on a civilised standard. . . . Asked whether he favoured women's votes for white and black, General Smuts said he proposed to class native women all over the Union with native men and leave their case to the National Convention. He did not propose to include them in the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill. . . . General Smuts was asked whether he ever received a bouquet from the natives or shook hands with them. General Smuts denied it amid laughter."[15]

In a reply to a question about his segregation policy, Smuts stated that this was "a most dangerous question to raise." But his position was quite clear. He believed in "segregation regarding land only—and to that he held." He again attacked Hertzog for wanting to give the Africans parliamentary representation, which was approved by neither the Africans nor the whites, and he again called for a National Convention on the subject. "General Smuts said that he had served South Africa well enough not to be subjected to the charge of wanting a black South Africa. He denied that the South African Party wanted equal rights for black and white."[16]

For White Dominion

Soon after this defeat Smuts delivered the Rhodes Memorial Lectures at Oxford. He believed that the time had come to establish in the heart of Africa another white dominion as "a bulwark for civilization." At the present time there was a slackening because of an entirely creditable attitude. This was "the humanitarian feeling which has been on the increase since the Great War, which sides with the under-dog, which produces the policy of Africa for the Africans, that is, for the natives; which holds that Africa is a black continent, the home of the negro and negroid peoples, and that it should remain such." Smuts admitted that white civilisation had resulted in many abuses, most of which had disappeared. He hoped that "depriving natives of their land or of the land which is reasonably required for their present or future needs should also be out of the question." There was no need for white immigration in any way to reduce this amount of land. It fitted in with the character and training of the Africans to accept the "firm handling, the lead and the mastery of the white employer." Indeed, "the easiest, the most natural and obvious way to civilize the African native is to give him decent white employment. White employment is his best school; the gospel of labour is the most salutary gospel for him. . . . Without a large European population as a continuous support and guarantee of that civilization and as an ever-present practical example and stimulus for the natives, I fear that civilization will not endure for long." He denied that there was any essential incompatibility between white and African interests. "Granting in principle that native interests should rank first, I still submit that white settlement under proper safeguards still remains the best means to give effect to that priority." Without the guiding hand of white civilization, Africa might "relapse to her historic and prehistoric slumbers."

African "Child Type"

In the second lecture on African problems Smuts reiterated the necessity for promoting the cause of civilization in Africa without injustice to the African. The Negro and Negroid Bantu peoples had many fine characteristics, and Africa may have been the cradle of civilization. But the Africans had largely remained "a child type, with a child psychology and outlook. A childlike human cannot be a bad human, for are we not in spiritual matters bidden to be like unto little children? Perhaps as a direct result of this temperament the African is the only happy human I have ever come across. No other race is so easily satisfied, so carefree. . . . It is clear that a race so unique, and so different in its mentality and its cultures from those of Europe, requires a policy very unlike that which would suit Europeans. . . . The British Empire does not stand for assimilation of its peoples into a common type, it does not stand for standardization, but for the freest development of its peoples along their own specific lines."

He, therefore, planned to follow the policy of Cecil Rhodes of developing African local self-government, and of individual land ownership. About two-thirds of the Africans in Cape Province, something over a million, managed their own local affairs according to their own ideas under the supervision of European magistrates. He then expressed the hope "that before many years have passed the greater portion of the native population of South Africa will be in charge of their own local affairs, under general white supervision."

But the events of the recent years had tended to cause the disintegration of local self-government. It was therefore necessary to take vigorous steps to restore or preserve the authority of the local chiefs. He based his own policy upon the principle of trusteeship in the mandate system. This could "only mean the progress and civilization of these backward peoples in accordance with their own institutions, customs and ideas in so far as these are not incompatible with the ideals of civilization." This would mean also separate and parallel institutions wherever Europeans and Africans lived in the same country. "The old practice mixed up black and white in the same institutions; . . . But in the new plan there will be what is called

(*Continued on page 278*)

[13] *London Times*, December 7, 1928, p. 15; January 16, 1929, p. 12.

[15] *Ibid.*, May 11, 1929, p. 14; May 25, 1929, p. 9.

[16] *Cape Argus*, May 4, 1929, p. 7.

Will a Long War Aid the Negro?

Benjamin Quarles

AN examination of the current assumption that a long war will work to the advantage of the Negro will result in some doubts. Obviously a long-drawn out conflict will create increasingly wide job opportunities for Negroes of both sexes. On the fighting fronts a long war will perhaps witness an increasingly democratic integration of the Negro into the various services. A government prosecuting a war of indefinite duration and thus anxious to effect a sense of unity among its citizenry, may be expected to strive to remove or neutralize the grosser irritants which make for race friction. Another point advanced is that a long period of rapid and far-reaching change (such as a long war will entail) is the precise time to wage an all-out attack on traditional prejudices, ago-old stereotypes and deep-seated fixations. Social conflicts and economic maladjustments are easier of solution in a period of fluid culture change.

There have been evidences of some of these things. However, Negroes must remember that a long drawn out war will very likely create a national psychosis which would indefinitely delay a solution to the American race problem. War brings many fine examples of heroism and self-sacrifice, especially on the battlefield, but war also breeds misunderstanding, fear and hatred on a global scale. Like the genie in the story we may find it difficult to put back into the bottle some of the forces we have found it necessary to uncork.

To react emotionally has valuable elements of morale; it enables a people at war to see it through. But the American race problem needs people who are prepared to think it through. A difficult problem in social behavior is solved satisfactorily only by an appeal to common sense and understanding. Perhaps historically we have expected too much of man's use of reason, but a reliance on this faculty is our chief guarantee for an equitable solution to a besetting problem. An America that has fought a long and gruelling war—an America in a state of spiritual and psychological exhaustion and faced by vexatious reconstruction problems at home and abroad would be in no mood to consider calmly and fairly the legitimate claims of the Negro.

The author advances interesting arguments on the question currently debated wherever colored Americans gather and talk

Threat of Fascism

To the Negro there is another danger. The longer the war lasts, the greater the threat to the American form of government. Power must be concentrated in a time like this; a war cannot be conducted along the lines of a Gallup poll. But after a long war, to expect a return to the states and to the people of the sweeping war-time controls which the national government has assumed and in whose exercise it has become habituated, is to expect an unusual degree of self-renunciation. "Power corrupts," wrote Lord Acton, "and absolute power, absolutely." In the exigencies of a long war our government may with the best (or most unconscious) of intentions succeed in fastening upon the country a totalitarianism that is no less political and psychological than military and economic.

A fascist regime would not profit the Negro. Under this form of organized tyranny, a racial minority has no rights. In America, all citizens (and this includes minority groups) have constitutional guarantees that the state and national governments shall not act arbitrarily. This is not to say that these guarantees are universally observed. But in a fascist country, a racial minority is persecuted by the state and its agents. Under fascism, a racial minority is hounded and harassed in accordance with the law, and not contrary to it. In this country, persecution of minorities is not legal; a government official who terrorizes minorities does so in violation of his oath. When minorities are deprived of their fundamental rights, the action is in violation of the constitution. The point is pertinent because it is along this line—the line of invoking constitutional privileges and immunities—that minority groups in America hope to attain full citizenship rights.

Those who feel that a long war will benefit the Negro point to the rise in wages that goes hand in hand with the current shortage in the labor market. But in wartime the rise in wages seldom keeps pace with the increased cost of living plus the heavier burden of taxation. Many Negro workers are learning a lesson that preceding generation learned from World War I; namely, that wars do not increase real wages.

The Crisis disagrees with some of the arguments advanced by Dr. Quarles in support of his thesis. We believe he dismisses in too casual fashion the opposition argument that, to use his own language, "social conflicts . . . are easier of solution in a period of fluid culture change." We believe he has overlooked an important factor, the acquisition and employment of new skills by workers, and has concentrated on the question of real wages. We believe he has greatly undervalued the bargaining power of battlefield bravery in the struggle for advancement, and that history does not support him in the sweeping fashion he claims, although the point has some substance. However, Dr. Quarles has stated one side of a controversial question and we are glad to present that view. Comments are invited from readers.

No Reward For Bravery

The supporters of the long-war theory have one final point that bears attention. A long war, it is asserted, will afford a splendid opportunity for the Negro to display his valor on the fighting front and his loyal support on the home front and thus win a gratitude that will be tangibly rewarded.

This belief is not realistic. Meritorious services by Negroes in past wars have not been accompanied by great social gains. As a result of his participation in the Revolutionary War the colored man made some small advances, but after 1780 the sweep of the Industrial Revolution and the invention of the cotton gin so increased the profits of slavery that the movement for emancipation was almost completely arrested. In the Civil War the Negro served with distinction in the Union armies, but the Emancipation Proclamation was issued before a single Negro recruit was officially enlisted, and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were certainly not passed as a reward for Negro bravery on the battlefield. After World War I—and in this war, too, the Negro fought well—the return-

(*Continued on page* 286)

War and Race Relations: Student Opinion

This is a summary of answers to one section of a poll conducted among 12,622 students in 63 colleges during March and April, 1943

IN order to implement the Four Freedoms, Americans "should be taking steps now to end discrimination against Negroes in the United States," in the view of 73% of the college students who answered the question last spring in a poll conducted by the Christian Social Reconstruction Commission and the magazine, *The Intercollegian*.

A total of 12,622 students in 63 colleges in various section of the country answered 19 questions under seven separate headings, all dealing with post war problems. The sixth section was "Race Relations and the War" and contained five questions. Through the courtesy of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, parent sponsor of the poll, The Crisis presents the following summary of answers to the race relations questions:

13. Do you think the colored peoples of the world must be guaranteed equal opportunities with white people in order to avoid a third world war?

The majority (54.7) said "Yes." Comments varied: "All people are created equal!" "They are becoming more intelligent and may demand rights"; and "Yes, but they should remain in their own groups." Many students had difficulty in conceiving that the "colored peoples of the world" included most Asiatic people, Africans, and the mixed-bloods of Latin-America as well as American Negroes. They fail to grasp the fact that the colored peoples outnumber the whites in the world.

Nearly one-third (31.6%) of the students said "No." Comments included, "Colored people will never start a war against whites. However, they should be guaranteed equal opportunities" and "They should be given opportunities but not too many." Students showed a lack of familiarity with the point of view which Shridharani voiced in "Warning to the West."

Russia and Colored People

14. In case we fail to prevent a third world war do you think the Soviet Union is likely to be an ally of the colored peoples of Asia against Britain and the United States?

The large (38.3%) no opinion expressed in answer to this question is significant. "We should be more fully educated about Russia and Asia," was voiced by many. "No opinion" and "No" (39.6%) voters expressed fear and suspicion of Russia, such as "Russia will fight only for her own good—not anybody else's," and "You can never predict what Russia will do." However, some who answered "No" expressed profound ignorance of the social equality in the Soviet Union. "Why should she? She has no more in common with them than we do." The large Mongolian population of the Soviet Union as well as the diverse population, seemed little grasped.

Only 22.1% answered "yes" to this question. Comments included "Russia can be expected to be a focus for the opposition of the colored peoples to our discriminatory policies. There is a tacit bond between the colored peoples and the Soviet Union"; "Yes, if the war is on a racial basis"; and "Britain and the U. S. had better change some of their tariffs and other policies or they will find another war."

15. To help strengthen the confidence of the people of Asia in democracy do you think the United States should now repeal the Oriental Exclusion Act, which denies American citizenship to immigrants from Asia?

The majority (51.2%) who opposed removal of the Oriental Exclusion Act gave both social and economic reasons for their point of view. They fear the immigration of a large number of Oriental people and seem not to be clear that our quota system would keep the number admitted very small. "It would lower our standard of living"; "We had good reasons for the Exclusion Act. Our attitude should be more friendly but we cannot afford to repeal the Act"; "Millions would swarm in now and after the war because of better conditions"; and "These races do not mix in the first place."

Those (28.5%) who answered "yes" are strong in their conviction of "the equality of all people". "It was a mistake in the first place," say some. A large percentage (20.3%) registered no opinion. Many commented that they were not informed.

Would End Discrimination

16. To implement the Four Freedoms all over the world, do you think that Americans should be taking steps now to end discrimination against Negroes in the United States?

Nearly three-fourths (73.6%) of the students said "yes" that they thought discrimination against Negroes should stop. Many said the process "is slow," and asked, "How can we really do it?" "We are only giving lip service to democracy if we continue our present policy of discrimination in regard to Negroes." Of those (15.7%) who opposed, their reasons included, "We cannot take on everything at once"; and "Negroes don't expect that much but should be given more."

17. Should social security for the British people as provided by the Beveridge Plan apply to the people of India and the British colonies in Africa?

More than half (51.3%) agreed that the Beveridge Plan should apply to India and the British Colonies in Africa. "Equal rights for all, in all things should be the policy"; and "If it is due the English it is due the colonies." Many of those (15.2%) who said "No" commented that they thought the colonies should be free and allowed to develop their own economy. However other comments included: "They never could support the plan financially, and the standard of living is too low for them to appreciate the benefits;" and "Illiteracy and security do not go well together." A third of the students (33.5%) expressed "no opinion." Many commented that they did not know what the Beveridge Plan was.

The Detroit Riot

An NAACP Analysis of the Outbreak that Cost 34 Lives

by

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and

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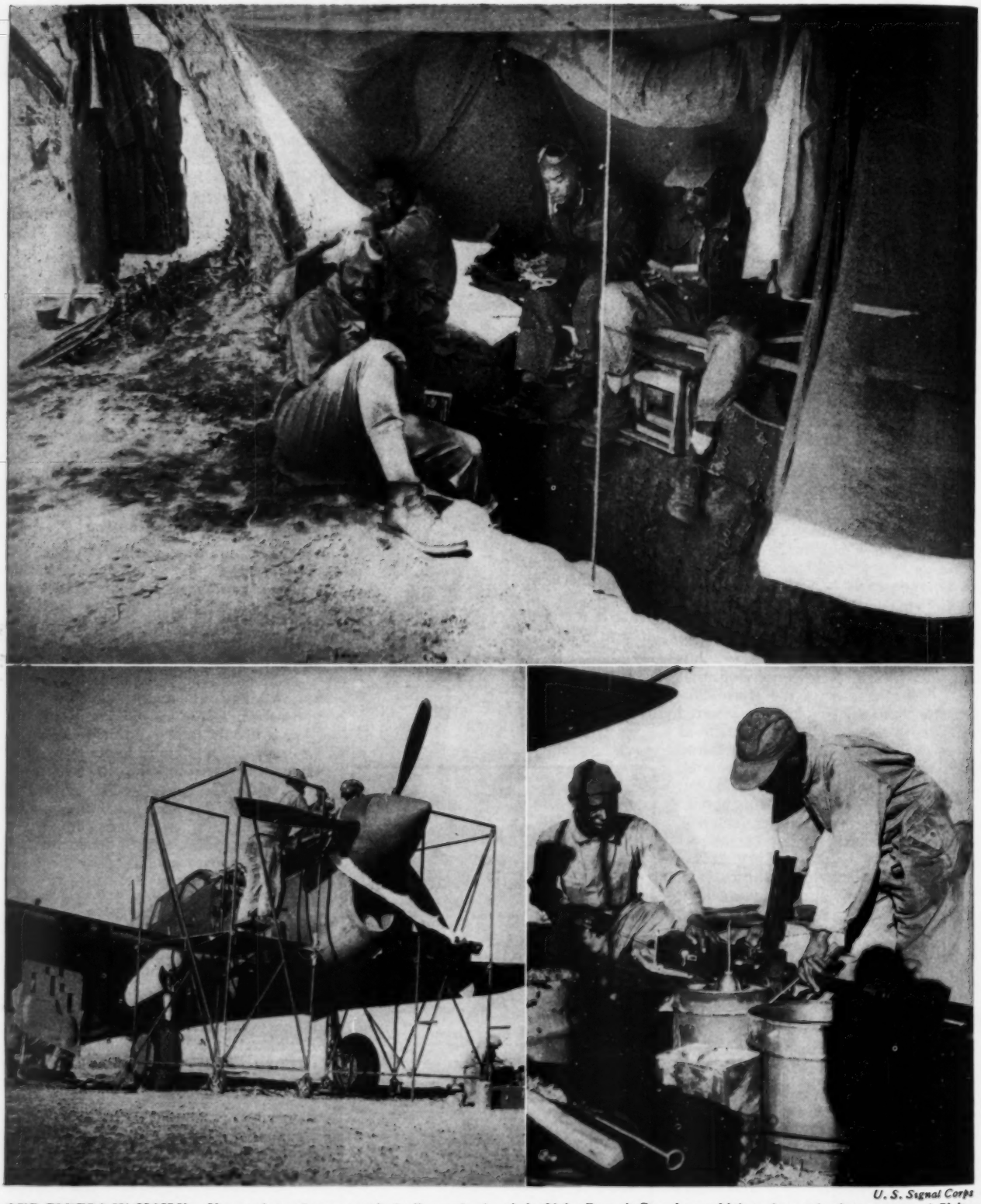

U. S. Signal Corps

OUR FLYERS IN SICILY: *Upper photo shows a typical pilots shack of the 99the Pursuit Squadron which took part in the conquest of Sicity. A slit trench is dug alongside the cots so the men can tumble to safety in the event of an enemy air raid. The cots are sheltered by halves of tents. Lower left, members of the ground crew tuning up one of the P-40 planes used by the 99th. Lower right, ground crew members cleaning one of the airplane machine guns. Lt. Col. B. O. Davis, Jr., commander of the 99th, was visited by Secretary of War Stimson on the latter's recent tour of the Mediterranean theatre of war*

First Ladies of Colored America—No. 12

MRS. JOHN HOPE, SR., co-founder of the Women's Division of the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation, is one of the pioneers in the field of social work. She was founder and president of the Gate City Kindergarten Association, which established a chain of kindergartens for underprivileged children. The Neighborhood Union, also founded and headed by Mrs. Hope, promoted the first interracial board established in connection with the Tuberculosis Association. As president of the Union, she organized the Social Service Institute which was the beginning of the Atlanta School of Social Work. She was organizer and chairman of the first citizenship school of the NAACP and in cooperation with the Association was a leader in a campaign for better health, better homes and better schools in Atlanta, Ga. Mrs. Hope received a medal for services to the French Government in World War I and was a member of the Hoover Investigating Committee during the Mississippi flood in 1927. Active in many other organizations, she holds membership in the Women's Interracial Commission of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the National Council of Negro Women and the National Advisory Council of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses. Mrs. Hope is the widow of Dr. John Hope, former president of Atlanta University and recipient of the Spingarn Medal

MRS. M. A. B. FULLER has served as president of the women's auxiliary of the National Baptist Convention of America since 1928 and she was previously director of the organization and corresponding secretary of the Convention for 10 years. With her late husband, Mr. W. H. Fuller, she helped to rear and educate 20 boys and girls and she is now aiding in the education of two African girls at St. Augustine, Florida, and a young man, who will soon enter college. Though it has been through Mrs. Fuller's planning that the Fuller Funeral Home is one of the most modern and beautiful institutions of its kind in Texas, she has given up business in order to devote her full attention to missionary and educational work. Mrs. Fuller is a native of Lockhart, Texas, and received her training at Tillotson college, Austin, Texas, and Guadalupe college, Seguin, Texas. She taught in the public schools of Texas for a number of years, resigning a position as principal of the city school to become corresponding-financial secretary of the Women's Auxiliary General Baptist Convention of Texas, a position which she still holds. An active member of the Ebenezer Baptist church, Austin, Texas, she is the author of "Guides for Home and Foreign Missionary Societies"

MRS. ADA BELLE WILLIAMS DeMENT, president of the National Association of Colored Women, was educated at Prairie View College and the universities of California, Chicago and Colorado. Born in Caldwell, Texas, she was a teacher in the Fort Worth high school for seventeen years, after which she married Rev. Clifton DeMent and moved to Mineral Wells, Texas. Mrs. DeMent served as principal of the high school in Mineral Wells for seven years, where, with the cooperation of the Parent Teachers Association and the community, she was instrumental in the erection of a more adequate school building. At present, Mrs. DeMent is corresponding secretary of the Woman's Convention of the B.M.&E. Convention of Texas, executive secretary of the financial set up of the Woman's Covenant of the National Baptist Convention, Chairman of the advisory board of the USO-YWCA and a member of both the executive board of the Texas Interracial Commission and the National War Writers board.

Recipient of the honorary degree of doctor of humanities from Bishop college in 1942, Mrs. DeMent has served as president of the Texas Federation of Colored Women's clubs and senior supervisor of the Texas Association of Girls

MRS. HANNAH WOODS HINCHEY is one of the vice chairmen of the Illinois State Council of Defense, representing the Illinois Association of Colored Women and has served as state president of the Illinois Association of Colored Women, a position from which she retired in June, 1942. She has held the position of president of the Annual Conference Missionary Society of the Freewill Baptist church, Carbondale, Illinois, for the past 25 years and her booklet, "The Missionary Guide" is used in many of the societies organized by her in other churches. A graduate of the Southern Illinois Normal university and the Chicago University Extension Conservatory of Music, she has served as president of the Woman's Relief Corps, the WTCU and the Southern Illinois District Association of Colored Women. Mrs. Hinchey has been a teacher of music in the public schools and is a member of the NAACP and the Order of the Eastern Star

Recreation and Morale

As the strain of war becomes more tense, the relation of recreation to military and civilian morale becomes increasingly important. Even before the formal entrance of the United States into the world struggle, this fact was recognized and provisions were made for coping with the problem by the founding of the United Service Organizations with their far-flung club houses, and the expansion of Red Cross facilities in United Nations' and later in conquered territories.

War is a hard and gruelling struggle requiring tremendous energy, constant application and unusual self-denial and sacrifice on the part of soldiers, sailors, war workers and the general civilian population. Unless there is an occasional let-up there will inevitably follow a let down or perhaps even a crack-up. This cannot be permitted because it would lead directly to defeat. It is for this reason that troops and crews are given a period of rest and recreation after each campaign is concluded, so that they may carry through the next action with the same verve and *esprit de corps*. Wherever and whenever possible those in the services are permitted to spend a brief vacation either at home or in some nearby community where for a little while they may get their minds off their duties. In this way a constant stream of refreshed troops and crews are taking the places of those wearied and worn by the strain of battle and behind-the-lines service.

What is only now beginning to be understood widely is that civilian morale is equally as important as military morale, and perhaps even more so. A nation today can be defeated and forced to surrender even though its armies and navy are intact, if the civilian population is unable to supply the arms, ammunition, airplanes, ships, clothing, shoes and a thousand other items needed in sufficient quantity and of sufficient quality to completely equip the armed forces. On the other hand, an army or navy may be completely defeated and yet the nation may win the war if civilian production can be kept up.

The German nation cracked first from within in 1918 and was compelled to surrender although its armies and its navy were intact and quite capable of continuing the war. The Russian nation was defeated in 1917 and forced out of the war chiefly because it was unable to supply its armies and navy with the tools and weapons of victory. On the other hand, British morale and production remained high after the rout in Belgium and Northern France and the loss of Hong Kong, Malaya and Burma, and it

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(Picture at right is recreation room)

was this steady stream of weapons and equipment to the fighting fronts which has turned defeat into victory in the Mediterranean area.

Modern war is primarily a conflict of rival technologies. The side which can produce the most machines and get them to the armed forces will win in the long run. The importance of war production is therefore quite obvious, and the morale of those who are producing war goods and those who are victualing and servicing the war workers becomes of prime importance to national independence and sovereignty.

Just as the soldier, sailor and marine must have rest and recreation, so must the civilian worker. If the armed forces crack, a battle or campaign is lost; if the civilian workers crack, the war is lost. For without adequate arms in sufficient quantity, the best army and navy in the world must inevitably surrender.

So, in a nation at war, every place of rest and recreation takes on a new and vital importance, and no nation can afford to neglect these facilities or to make it difficult or impossible to reach them. This is particularly true in the case of recreation places for colored war workers and other civilians because there are so few of them, and many are not entirely adequate. In most communities the colored people have very limited recreational facilities from which to choose because of the color bar. This condition is being remedied slowly by the opening of new theaters, restaurants, and night clubs, bowling alleys, etc., but much too slowly to cope with the problem which has grown more serious with the rapid expansion of population in numerous urban centers having large war contracts. Moreover, many of the recreation places available for Negroes fall short of supplying those wholesome surroundings which are desirable for health's sake in a time when the whole nation must be physically fit for the job in hand.

This situation is a challenge and an opportunity to Negro business. Never before has there been such a demand for recreation and never before has there been so much money available for recreation, despite the high taxes and purchases of war bonds. Neither the federal government nor other capital is going to invest very much money, if any, in establishing recreational facilities for Negroes. We cannot expect the government to do this when it rarely does it for white people except in the most remote areas where no facilities whatever exist. And the need for Negro facilities is not understood by most white investors. Even if it were, the enterprises in which they might be disposed to invest might not be the kind colored people would regard as wholesome.

The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. in many swelling Negro districts are trying in a small way to cope with this problem but in the very nature of the situation they can do no more than scratch the surface. The churches, of course, have always had some sort of recreational program, especially the large and socially-conscious congregations. But it is clear that something much more is needed and that a great deal of money can be made and a fine social service performed by those business men who grasp this opportunity.

There are scores of rapidly expanding colored communities that have no adequate ballroom, no public tennis courts, no swimming pools, no golf links, no bowling alleys and not even a first class picnic ground or bathing beach. Undoubtedly there is sufficient money in every colored community to furnish such facilities if properly organized. This would not be a merely a war-time investment. The need for wholesome recreational facilities will exist after the war because the Negro urban population is everywhere increasing rapidly.

Because of the recreational color bar and the widespread discrimination against Negroes still existing in war industry and the armed services, Negro morale is lower than that of any group. In time this will be reflected in decreased productivity and so constitute a weakness on the home front. To offset this tendency more recreational facilities are needed at once. Since no other agency seems disposed to attack this problem forthrightly and adequately, the job must be done by those most concerned.

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Above are views of Capital Grill and the insert to the left is John W. Carter, proprietor. The grill, long the mecca of Washingtonians is noted for its fine cusine and mixed drinks. Here many an hour of relaxation is furnished for weary war workers.

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Smuts Speaks

(*Continued from page 267*)

'segregation'—separate institutions for the two elements of the population living in their own separate areas. . . . Institutional segregation carried with it territorial segregation." Partly as a result of their failure to provide sufficient land for the Africans, many Africans had become urbanized. Segregation could not be carried out in industry, even though competition and antagonism for which no solution had been found resulted. He repeated his opposition to a statutory Colour Bar and expressed his satisfaction that no attempt had been made to apply it in practice. In face, "industrial as distinguished from territorial segregation would be both impracticable and an offence against the modern conscience."

Perhaps the most difficult problem arose from the fact that the urbanized Africans "claim to be civilized and Europeanized, and do not wish to be thrust back into the seclusion of their former tribal associations, or to forego their new place in the sun among the whites." This fact should be a "lesson to all the younger British communities farther north to prevent as much as possible the detachment of the native from his tribal connection, and to enforce from the very start the system of segregation with its separate native institutions." Although it had proved impossible in South Africa in the past to keep African families in their own reserves, it was possible to do so today. "The power of Government and the reach of the law are to-day very different from what they were under the primitive conditions of the old Cape frontier." Through segregation except in industry and through local self-government "the white man's civilization and the steadily progressing native culture will live side by side and react on each other, and the problems of their contact will provide a fruitful theme for the statesmen of the future."[18]

"Patient as the Ass"

After delivering these lectures, Smuts came to the United States and spoke in Town Hall, New York City, on January 9, 1930. He declared that "efforts to impose the civilization of the white race upon Africa's aboriginal population could result only in bolshevising the native and making him a menace to the rest of the world." He deplored detribalisation, saying that there is a great deal of good in African culture since "for one thing, the African is a Socialist. Standardisation of peoples might be a fine thing in the United States but in Africa you must build on the African foundation." He warned that any change in the African cultural system should be made without violence. "The native laborer in the copper mines of Rhodesia and other parts should not be allowed to take his women folk and children with him. 'Let them remain in their tribal areas,' he urged. Do not bring them to be contaminated by white civilization which, after all, is perhaps only an experiment.'"

A Negro quartet had sung some spirituals which General Smuts had applauded. "He recalled the slave songs of old, trudging across a continent singing their songs and referred to them as the 'most patient of all, next to the ass.'" The late Dr. Robert Russa Moton asked him what he meant. "General Smuts hastened to correct the impression that might have been given. 'Far from wanting to insult the natives of Africa or any negroes,' he declared, 'I was expressing my admiration for the natives.'"[19]

At a luncheon the next day "he again warned against attempting to force white civilization on the African natives, declaring that the result would be disastrous and lead to a racial problem so tremendous that it would be well nigh impossible to cope with it. General Smuts characterized the negroes of Africa as 'child peoples.'" He praised the military qualities of Negroes from the time of Hannibal to the First World War and urged "that something be done to regulate the racial contacts. 'Unless we are wisely guided in our relations in Africa,' he warned, 'the civilized world may find itself up against a most dangerous economic and social situation in the generations to come.'"[20]

Fear of Black Armies

Italian designs on Ethopia in 1935 caused him to fear that bitterness and resentment against the white man might become general in Africa. "Another danger had also to be borne in mind. Unfortunately, precedents already existed for the training of black armies in Africa to take part in general war and not merely in defense of local territory. He feared very much that the annexation of Abyssinia or its domination by a great European power would mean the training of the biggest and the most dangerous black army the world had seen. It was not difficult to picture what the consequences of such development might be on the African Continent and further afield. The growing struggle of races and colours was one of the most ominous signs of the present world situation.

[18] General J. C. Smuts, *Africa and Some World Problems* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 37–103.

[19] *New York Times*, January 10, 1930, p. 2.
[20] *Ibid.*, January 11, 1930, p. 10.

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And the conquest of Abyssinia and the training of its splendid military material might be a menace to the peace and order they had laboriously tried to build up in Europe after the Great War."[23]

In 1936 he spoke in favor of a Representative Council for the Africans, but he did not deem it wise to grant it legislative powers until its success as an advisory body had been established.

"The Pan-African Ideal" was the subject of an important address that he delivered in 1940. The whole Continent of Africa South of the Equator, especially the British territories therein, were a "matter of economic interest and concern, and the Union can only realize its destiny, even within its own borders, by keeping that larger point of view before itself." This was no policy of jingoistic imperialism, he asserted, against the other European powers, but the question "affects the economic interests and development of us all, and in a large cultural sense, the destiny of us all as co-workers in the cause of European civilization in this Continent."[24]

Finally, "Trusteeship"

On January 21, 1942, the Prime Minister delivered one of his most recent and most widely discussed lectures, "The Basis of Trusteeship in African Native Policy." Since there have been various interpretations of what he said, it is important to note that this summary and the quotations are taken from the pamphlet published by The South African Institute of Race Relations before which he delivered the lecture. In it he reminded his audience that one school had favored equality and another, the superiority of the white race over the black. More recently, the idea of trusteeship had come to the fore. He agreed with Rhodes that this relationship should be that of guardian and ward. This idea of trusteeship, "bypasses that barren controversy concerning who is higher and who is lower, that barren controversy between equality and superiority, which for a century and more produced nothing except ill-feeling and bitterness."

Trusteeship in Africa was made difficult by various factors. Fear dominated the minds of the whites since they were in the minority. Difference in cultural levels between whites and blacks had up to the present time prevented the whites from finding the right way of translating trusteeship into better relations in practice. The emphasis on race in modern times had further complicated the problem. South Africa had tried to get around the fear by a policy of segregation. "But I am afraid, Ladies and Gentlemen, that there is very great disappointment at the result which has been achieved. . . . How can it be otherwise? The whole trend in this country and throughout Africa has been in the opposite direction. . . . Isolation has gone in South Africa and it has gone for good. . . . There has been in recent years a migration of Africans to this country on a colossal scale. The attractions of South Africa for Africans has been overpowering. . . . The result has been that there has been an intermixture of the various native tribes, and of the population generally in South Africa which was never dreamt of before. Isolation has gone and segregation has fallen on evil days."

Segregation had failed to keep the Africans in their reserves. The urbanization of the Africans had been, indeed, a "revolutionary change." This urbanization meant detribalization and industrialization of the African. Some persons were inclined, in the face of this new situation, to emphasize the old ideal of racial superiority. But "the fundamental aspect of trusteeship is the responsibility which the trustee has towards his ward. The whole concept is meant, not for the benefit of the trustee, but for the benefit of those whom he has to look after." While there was an ethical aspect to trusteeship, enlightened self-interest also made it necessary. Moreover, unless the Europeans fulfill their obligations of trusteeship, there is grave danger that the "fairly happy relation existing between European and Africans on this Continent" might not continue.

In many respects—education, health, housing, feeding—they were not fulfilling their duty to the African. "If he is not much more, he is the beast of burden; he is the worker and you need him. He is carrying this country on his back. . . . I am not talking high politics—I am not talking of the franchise—"

Urban Segregation Approved

"Generally, our natives for good and sufficient reasons, which I quite approve of, have been put apart in the urban areas; they have been segregated and given their own townships to live in." But the cost of living was high in those segregated areas; the Africans were a long way from their place of work and they had to pay their way to and from work. "The result, Ladies and Gentlemen, is that conditions are arising which certainly cannot be tolerated."

South Africa had accepted the idea of trusteeship. He had been greatly cheered by news of the friendly relations between not only the black South Africans and the white South Africans fighting in North Africa but also by the friendly relations between Negroes from other parts of Africa with the white South African troops. These facts show "that there is a good and sound basis to build on for the future of this country, if we will follow the light and if we will do our duty as trustees. . . . Our hope and our faith is that both races will manage to live together in a spirit of helpful co-operation—in other words, that they will improve their relations so as to be helpful to each other, and on the basis of trusteeship see their future as the years go by."[25]

Smuts has spoken. There is no need to recapitulate his views on specific questions. One fact is crystal clear. Under whatever guise he may present his end policy, good-will, justice or trusteeship, segregation is the fundamental basis. The only exception is the unescapable need of using Africans in industry so that South Africa may maintain her important position in world affairs. But even in the cities the industrialized Africans must be segregated. At a time when most planners for a just and durable peace are talking about breaking down even national loyalties, when we are being told that that no place on the globe is more than sixty hours from any other, when we are being assured that this is the "Century of the Common Man," Smuts still advocates the medieval ghetto for Africans not only in the Union of South Africa but for all of British East Africa. Like the Bourbons of old, he seems not to be able to learn or to forget.

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[23] *Cape Argus*, October 19, 1935, p. 17.

[24] *Ibid.*, March 21, 1940, p. 7.

[25] Jan Smuts, *The Basis of Trusteeship in African Native Policy* (Capetown, 1942).

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

Riot Report Blames Negroes: The report on the Detroit riot by Governor Harry F. Kelly's Fact Finding commission, as published in the Detroit dailies August 11, blames Negroes for the riot and praises the police force, saying "the ordinary law enforcement and judicial agencies have thus far adequately and properly dealt with law violators."

Two members of the governor's committee were Prosecuting Attorney William E. Dowling of Wayne County (which includes Detroit) who made a statement several weeks ago blaming the NAACP by name for the riot, and Detroit Police Commissioner John E. Witherspoon, whose police force killed 17 of the 25 dead Negroes, while permitting white mobs to roam at will and beat up Negroes, even those under the "protection" of the police.

The NAACP said Witherspoon's presence on the committee "is undoubtedly responsible for this whitewashing of the police force."

"Negroes," said the NAACP, "have asked nothing but simple justice and the report to the governor calls them agitators.

"The text of the report by the Fact Finding committee is not really a finding of fact, but an attempt by law enforcement officials of Detroit and Wayne county to cover the defection and derelictions of the Detroit police by blaming Negroes for the riot.

"The accusations are directed against all types of Negroes, from teen-aged ruffians to Negro editors, civic leaders, and heads of local and national organizations.

"Fully one-third of the digested text as reported in the Detroit dailies, August 11, concerns itself with minutely detailed descriptions of what the report describes as 'disconnected incidents provoked by a group of Negroes.'

"Violence of whites against Negroes is dismissed summarily in a short paragraph, despite the fact it is asserted this violence extended over a period of twenty hours, from 4:00 a. m., June 21, until 11.00 p. m. that same day. During this period more than 1,500 persons were arrested of whom 85% were Negroes. Seventeen of the 25 slain Negroes were killed by police.

"This committee had before it abundant evidence, including a report from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of wholly unjustifiable killing and other violence by police. To ignore all of this and to conclude that 'the ordinary law enforcement agencies have thus far adequately and properly dealt with the law violators' is conclusive evidence of the bias which characterizes the report.

"This report solves nothing, further embitters Negroes and destroys any lingering vestige of confidence in the law enforcement authorities."

Although Mayor Jeffries had been won over to the idea of calling a special grand jury to investigate the riot, after the governor's committee made its report the city council of Detroit overrode the mayor's request and decided not to call up a grand jury. Only Councilman George Edwards, the transplanted Texan who has a consistent record of fairness to Negroes, voted for the grand jury. By vote of the council the Detroit riot, the worst in the country in the last quarter century, is now a "closed book."

Biddle Denies Migration Ban: Attorney General Francis Biddle, in a roundabout way, has denied that there are any plans on foot to restrict or stop the migration of Negroes to war production centers. Mr. Biddle's denial was contained in a letter to Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, after a great furor had been created by the publication of two stories in the *New York Post* and the full text of a memorandum alleged to have been sent by Biddle under date of July 15 to President Roosevelt. This memorandum, printed by the newspaper *PM*, did recommend the restriction of migration by Negroes and did suggest "that no more Negroes should move into Detroit."

The memorandum said the recommendations were based upon an investigation of the Detroit riot by an FBI man sent especially by Mr. Biddle.

Mr. Biddle's letter to Mr. Granger did not deny that a recommendation had been made to restrict migration. In fact, Mr. Biddle refused to discuss the memorandum, saying it was a confidential document to the President whose contents he could not reveal. He merely denied that any plans were underway to bar migration; but he did add in cautious language that "migrations necessarily contain the seeds of future dislocation . . . (and) responsible officials should give careful consideration to the extent of required facilities before taking any steps to fill the particular manpower requirements."

The NAACP, in a statement by Walter White, condemned the proposal as "obviously illegal, unsound and destructive of public confidence. The inequity and injustice of the proposal are appalling."

Roosevelt, Churchill Queried: At their August conference in Quebec, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill were urged to consider the problem of the color line in the matter of victory and peace. A telegram was dispatched to the conference by the NAACP in which Walter White said "May I respectfully urge in your deliberations consideration of practical means of inclusion of welfare of colored peoples of the world . . . we know you both are aware of the need of solving this question."

"Manna" to Axis: Race riots in America create "a picture of conditions in our country that is manna from Heaven to the Axis" according to a letter from Major Myron Weitz of Cleveland, Ohio, serving in North Africa. In his letter to the Cleveland *Plaindealer* Major Weitz wrote, "Both white and black are fighting this war over here, and they should be fighting it shoulder to shoulder back home. I should not think that these rioters need be reminded that Negroes have been killed, wounded and taken captives on all fronts. They were on those various fronts to protect the people back home from the very things that are occurring."

Soldiers Get Death Sentence: After deliberating 5 hours and 45 minutes on July 30 a military court consisting of 2 colonels, a major, 2 captains and 3 lieutenants brought in a verdict of guilty and the death sentence for 3 Negro

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soldiers, Privates Richard Adams, John Bordenave and Lawrence Mitchell on a charge of rape. The crime was alleged to have been committed last July on one Rose Mason, white, in Camp Claiborne, Louisiana.

The court martial was held at Camp Maxey, Texas.

The men had been tried and convicted in the United States District Court in Louisiana last summer, but NAACP attorneys, led by Thurgood Marshall, went to the United States supreme court and secured an opinion which in effect set aside the convictions because the original court technically did not have the authority to try the men. The army then took them over and set the court martial for Camp Maxey on July 28.

Mr. Marshall said the testimony was so contradictory that he believes the Board of Review will not sustain the verdict. Principal item against the men was a series of verbal and written "confessions" introduced by the prosecutor over the objection of defense counsel. The defendants claim the confessions were secured by force while they were in custody of Louisiana civil authorities.

The men were defended at the court martial by 2 army officers and Mr. Marshall. The latter has made application to file briefs and to appear before the Judge Advocate General in Washington when the case comes up for review.

Atlanta Teachers File Suit: Preliminary argument will be heard sometime this fall on a suit brought by Samuel L. Davis, a teacher in the Booker T. Washington high school of Atlanta, Georgia, against the Board of Education seeking to equalize the salaries of Negro teachers and principals with the salaries receieved by white teachers of the same status and experience. A. T. Walden of Atlanta and Thurgood Marshall are acting for Mr. Davis.

Harlem Riot: The widespread resentment among all classes of Negro citizens to the treatment their men have been receiving in the Army was one of the principal contributing factors to the disorders in Harlem on the night of August 1, according to Walter White, NAACP secretary, in a letter to Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War.

The spark which touched off the Harlem riot and looting spree was a report that a Negro soldier had been shot and killed by a white policeman. The report was not true because the soldier was only slightly wounded, but the mere report, with the background of mistreatment of Negro soldiers elsewhere in the country, was sufficient to touch off the destructive rampage which did five million dollars' worth of damage. The NAACP letter said:

"It was the fury born of repeated, unchecked, unpunished, and often unrebuked shooting, maiming, and insulting of Negro troops, particularly in the southern states, which started the disorders."

"Mr. Secretary, we fear, and we are not alone in that fear, that unless the War and Justice Departments muster courage enough to handle this situation without gloves, other trouble may ensue born of the sense of frustration and resentment bordering on despair among Negroes. We, therefore, take the liberty of asking and urging you and the Attorney General, both of whom we know to be shocked by the coldblooded mistreatment of Negro soldiers, to confer immediately and to work out an affirmative and uncompromising program of action."

DEATH SENTENCE: Pvts. Lawrence Mitchell, Richard P. Adams, and John W. Bordenave were convicted by a court martial at Camp Maxey, Tex., July 30, but appeal brief will be filed with Judge Advocate General by NAACP attorneys.

Branch News

California: The Monrovia branch held its regular meeting July 11 at Bethel A.M.E. Church.

Clarence Johnson of the War Manpower Commission and Floyd Covington of the Los Angeles Urban League were the principal speakers for the Riverside branch July 19. Mr. Johnson discussed housing and Mr. Covington, the general topic, "Better Race Relations." The Riverside branch is attempting to work out four practical methods of easing racial tensions.

Miss Ruby Goodwin, Rev. Rex B. Barr and Rev. Joseph Thomas were the speakers for the Long Beach branch July 18. A musical program was directed by Mrs. C. M. Craig. N. J. Holly is president.

A report on the latest developments in the housing crisis for Negro war workers, and a report by Miss Berlinda Davison, president, on the Detroit conference were features of the meeting of the San Francisco branch July 18.

Connecticut: The Bridgeport branch held its regular meeting in the Messiah Baptist Church July 20.

In celebration of a successful membership drive the Youth Council of the Greenwich branch held a meeting July 25 at which the speaker was E. Harold Mason of New York on the topic "Living Courageously." The famous "Ballad for Americans" was sung by a mixed chorus under direction of Alver W. Napper. John Kelly of Riverside was soloist and Miss Esther Harrison of Stamford was accompanist.

The Stamford branch announces that its membership is near the 400 mark.

Dr. W. I. N. Johnson, president of the Norwalk branch, was guest speaker at a

meeting August 12 on the topic "What the NAACP is Doing in Norwalk."

Colorado: Delegates from the Pueblo branch to the Detroit convention reported at a meeting held by the branch July 4 in Scotts Chapel.

Delaware: The Wilmington branch together with the Elks and the East Side Civic League cooperated in a "Double V" rally and dance at the State Armory July 30. A. Roland Milburn was general chairman and Mrs. Jean Jamison and Mrs. Beatrice H. Berryman were co-secretaries.

The Wilmington branch donated an American flag to Southbridge, the new public housing development in the city which was dedicated August 8. The presentation was made by Mrs. Bessie Peterson. The principal speech was delivered by Dr. Frank S. Horne, chief of the race relations office of the Federal Public Housing Authority. Mayor Albert W. James and Stanley B. Hearn, chairman of the Wilmington Housing Authority also spoke. Southbridge cost $814,000 and will house more than 670 persons in 33 buildings.

Iowa: The Waterloo branch cancelled its annual Emancipation picnic and dance usually held August 4. President Milton F. Fields said the action was taken because so many young people who ordinarily attend were either in the armed forces or in war work.

Milton F. Fields, an attorney of Waterloo, was elected president of the Iowa State Conference of Branches at the fourth annual meeting in July in Marshalltown. The delegates adopted a resolution asking Governor Bourke B. Hickenlooper to integrate Negroes into the Iowa state guard. Another resolution called upon President Roosevelt to stop "mistreatment of Negroes in the armed forces and discrimination against those employed in war plants."

Other officers chosen were Ike Smalls, Des Moines, first vice president; Rev. Paul L. Scott, Mason City, second vice president; Mrs. Rose Bannon Johnson, Marshalltown, secretary; Miss Clara Webb, Des Moines, assistant secretary; Rev. A. R. Parks, Cedar Rapids, treasurer, and Mrs. Samuel Morrow, Marshalltown, youth director.

Mrs. Georgine C. Morris, founder of the organization, was elected president emeritus.

Members of the executive board are Mrs. Morris; Rev. S. A. Nelson, Marshalltown; Mrs. Lydia Page, Waterloo; Judge Thomas J. Guthrie, Des Moines, and Barnard F. McGinn, Ottumwa.

Youth department officers include Margaret Dobbins, Marshalltown, president; Pearl Spencer, Marshalltown, first vice president; Jane Johnson, Marshalltown, second vice president; Idella Cushingberry, Des Moines, secretary; Freda De Sleet, Des Moines, assistant secretary, and Jean Nolan, Marshalltown, treasurer.

Kansas: The Double V Fourth of July celebration of the Wichita branch was held at Sunnyvale Springs. The day's activities got under way at 10 a.m. at the YMCA when the Rev. W. A. Payton of Springfield, Ill., made the main address. George Trumbull, personnel director at the Boeing aircraft plant also spoke. Later at the celebration there was a jitterbug contest with music by Skippy Hawkins and his band. The USO and service men from Camp Phillips had a part in the program. George Brock and Raymond Overton had charge of arrangements.

Because a bathing beauty parade was scheduled as part of an Emancipation day celebration on Sunday, August 8, the Hutchinson branch of which George Van Hook is president, passed a resolution protesting the display of girls in bathing suits on Sunday. The Lincoln Day club, sponsors of the celebration for the past 18 years, announced that it was giving up the feature because of the NAACP resolution. Mr. Van Hook said he did not think a bathing beauty contest proper on a Sunday. He agreed that a bathing beauty contest is enjoyable, but said: "We have six days for enjoyment and we should leave the seventh for doing good." James A. Woodson, general manager of the celebration, said the affair was being held on Sunday to enable colored soldiers from nearby Camp Phillips to attend on week end passes. "We are calling off the contest," he said, "to avoid trouble, but we are not happy about it."

The Coffeyville branch launched a membership campaign August 1 at a meeting at Sardis Baptist church. The following program was rendered:

Women's quartet directed by Mrs. James Buckner; song fest by church choirs of the city; vocal solos by Misses Venus Anderson of Coffeyville, Barbara Roberts of Ft. Scott and Mrs. Ozzie Yountz, Coffeyville; group singing led by Mrs. Roy Grubbs; principal address by R. W. Cartwright; and group discussions led by Mrs. W. J. Johnson and G. R. Richardsohn.

Carl R. Johnson, president of the Kansas City, Mo., branch, was the speaker in July for the closing meeting of the Parsons branch membership campaign, which brought in 110 new members.

Senator Arthur Capper addressed the Topeka branch Sunday night August 8 on recent happenings in Washington. Senator Capper is a national vice president of the NAACP and in 1915 was president of the Topeka branch. He was introduced by R. J. Reynolds, president of the branch. Other numbers on the program included an instrumental solo by Miss Adelaide Comer and singing by the Church of God quartet.

Michigan: Problems in the Muskegon area were discussed at a meeting of the Muskegon branch July 18. Committee chairman named by President John L. Frazier were: James Stuart, membership; Mrs. Laurah Johnson, recreation; William McKinley Bell, legal redress; Finis O. Graham, publicity; Mrs. Eunice Lovett, program; and Waverly Henderson, finance. Other officers are: Herman White, first vice president; the Rev. J. E. Jackson, second vice president; Mrs. Blanche Frazier, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Mentha Bell, executive secretary; and Everett Beard, treasurer.

The Saginaw branch held its regular meeting July 11 at Christ Community church.

Minnesota: The St. Paul branch heard a report at its meeting July 20 from its president, the Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, on conditions affecting Negro troops at the army air base at Sioux Falls, S. D.

Maryland: The regular meeting of the Parole branch was held August 9 with Arthur McDade as the speaker and music by the Junior choir of the Mt. Olivet A.M.E. church. Frank B. Butler of the Bates high school was the speaker for the July meeting.

Officers were elected August 3 by the Cumberland branch.

The big annual membership campaign of the Baltimore branch will get underway

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in mid-September, with Randall L. Tyus, branch executive secretary, in charge. Prior to this year the Baltimore branch under the militant leadership of Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson has been second only to Detroit, Mich., in size, although hard-pressed at all times by Chicago. This year, however, Houston, Tex., and Los Angeles, Calif., have both passed the 7,000 mark in members. The ranking now stands: Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, Baltimore, Chicago. Los Angeles expects to have 10,000 before October 1. Chicago is launching a campaign in September for 20,000 to try to tie Detroit. Mrs. Jackson and Mr. Tyus are making no boasts, but Mrs. Jackson told the national office on a visit there early in August that Baltimore would get "more than" 12,000—how many more she did not say. Anyone who knows her knows that Baltimore will be up there with the leaders when the campaign smoke settles down on October 15.

Missouri: Speakers for the Jefferson City branch panel discussion at the July meeting were N. P. Barksdale, the Rev. C. B. Johnson, Dr. Mabel Smythe, Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene, Robert S. Cobb, and Milton G. Hardinman.

New Jersey: The Passaic branch has written a letter of appreciation to Police Commissioner Julius Cinamon for prompt police action in the "Summer Street Incident." Praise was also given to Police Chief Charles J. Monks. The letter said in part: "We are happy to know that you and your chief of police, Charles J. Monks possess a spirit of fair play and justice for all." Chief Monks has become known throughout northern New Jersey for his efforts to preserve order and keep down racial tensions by absolute fair play: punishment for the guilty, white or black; advice to the wayward; and counsel with Negro and white community leaders before a situation develops.

The Trenton branch has written a letter of thanks to the daily newspapers for their aid in publicizing the recent successful membership campaign which netted 1,100 members.

The Jersey City branch has concluded a membership campaign which brought in 500 new members, bringing the total on the books to 993. They hope to have 500 more members by October 1. Mrs. Mary E. Pope directed the campaign, which was launched with a showing of the NAACP color movie, "On Guard," and an address by Alfred Baker Lewis of Peekskill, N. Y., national board member. Awards were presented the following workers for the memberships brought in: first, Nathaniel Johnson, 342 members, $448; second, Mrs. Hannah Greene, 276 members, $310; third, Felix J. Isom, 159 members, $195; fourth, E. J. French, 100 members, $132.

DR. U. S. WIGGINS

The energetic president of the Camden, N. J., branch is honored by members at a banquet.

The Rev. Cleveland Jones of Whitesboro was the speaker for the regular meeting of the Bridgeton branch August 10.

The Camden branch concluded a very full and successful year with a testimonial banquet in honor of the president, Dr. Ulysses S. Wiggins, on Saturday June 26, at the J. G. Whittier school.

Three hundred members and friends were in attendance. Invocation was by Rev. Charles S. Lee. Mrs. T. Marvel Dansbury, vice-president since reorganization, introduced the toastmaster, Walter J. Gordon, principal of Mt. Vernon and Charles Sumner schools, also chairman of the executive committee.

Mrs. Juanita E. Dicks, secretary, a delegate to the Detroit conference, reported highlights of the Emergency Conference on the Status of the Negro in the War for Freedom.

Mrs. Phyllis Morrell and George Arthur were in charge of music.

Herbert E. Millen, Assistant Director of Public Safety, Philadelphia, Pa., guest speaker, was introduced by Robert Burk Johnson, Esq., chairman of the legal committee.

Other speakers included: Theodore O. Spaulding, president of the Philadelphia NAACP; Miss Carolyn Davenport, executive secretary Philadelphia NAACP; Freeholder Howard Westcott; Commissioners E. George Aaron and William Gotshalk; and Fernando McLeod, Campbell Soup company.

The following speakers represented organizations and groups in which Dr. and Mrs. Wiggins are officers and associates: Dr. Howard E. Primas, president of South Jersey Medical Society; Mrs. Omega Mason, president of Women's Auxiliary of the South Jersey Medical Society; Rev. Charles S. Lee, Ministerial Alliance; B. Crawford Gregory, treasurer of Elks; Albert E. Flournoy, secretary Y.M.C.A.; Miss Ruth Marie Brown, secretary Y.W.C.A.; Dr. Walter F. Jerrick, president of Pyramid Club, Philadelphia; Dr. O. Wilson Winters, Dr. Percy I. Bowser, Dr. Charles Dorsey, Atty. Edward Reid—all members of the Pyramid Club and all close friends of Dr. Wiggins; Dr. W. Berkley Butler, Baltimore, Md., former schoolmate at University of Michigan. Dr. Butler spoke in tribute to Dr. Wiggins for his unselfish service.

Mrs. Wiggins was presented with a basket of flowers by Miss Francena L. Potter on behalf of the association. Dr. Wiggins was presented with a fountain pen and desk holder by Atty. Reid, from the board of directors of the Pyramid Club, and a traveling bag by Dr. J. Maurice Vaughan on behalf of the NAACP.

In response, Dr. Wiggins, summarizing work and accomplishment of the group, stated he was only a symbol of the efforts and hard work of the officers and members of Camden NAACP.

Since reorganization in 1940 the membership has grown to 1400 members.

Through the labor committee hundreds of Negro workers have found employment as semi-skilled and skilled workers at R.C.A., Eavenson and Levering Wool Washing Plant, Campbell Soup company, and New York Shipyard where we have now more than 2,000 men and women in comparison to 200 formerly employed there.

Through the educational committee meetings have been staged to acquaint the public with the aims, purposes and work of the association. Among speakers on these occasions have been Dr. Harold Wilson, Glassboro Teachers college; Walter White, and Daisy E. Lampkin, national field secretary.

Through the juvenile delinquency committee a fight has been made for jobs in the Camden County Detention Home and the appointment of doctors and nurses in the County hospital; also, the appointment of a Negro policewoman in the City of Camden. City and county officials have promised to make these appointments.

Through the efforts of the Juvenile delinquency committee and research committee two Negro girls started to work in the accounting department of the Bell Telephone company. This is the first time

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Camden Bell Telephone has ever hired Negro girls.

Dr. Wiggins concluded his remarks by giving some of the future plans for the fall. Coming speakers: Walter White, Judge William Hastie, A. Philip Randolph and Daisy E. Lampkin who is directing our membership drive for 2500 members.

"Go-to-high-school, go-to-college" movement will be the theme of education committee.

A fight will be made for admittance of Negro teachers into junior high schools and high schools of Camden.

New York: The Glen Cove branch has scheduled its meetings for every two months because of gasoline rationing and transportation difficulties.

William Brooks has replaced Pvt. F. Ransom Banks as chairman of the membership committee of the Port Chester branch. Fifteen memberships were reported in July and a steady campaign will continue through September. The education committee reports five graduates from Port Chester high school and four from Rye high school.

Allan Wilcox of the Great Neck branch was among those who conferred in July with J. Russell Sprague, county executive, and with James E. Stiles, publisher of the Nassau Daily Review Star, about a series of editorials appearing in the paper on "mugging." The group denounced the editorials as incitement to racial strife and asked the cooperation of all leaders in the county to develop interracial cooperation.

At a special election July 26 Benjamin Morrell was elected president of the Mamaroneck branch to succeed Wellington Waters.

A seven-point plan to eliminate racial discrimination and thus wipe out community tensions was presented August 6 to the Buffalo branch by Edward L. Carter, Jr., and Victor Einach of the Buffalo Committee on Discrimination in Employment. The seven points:

"1—Abolish the Jim Crow policy of the armed forces.

"2—Abolish separate blood banks for Negroes.

"3—Assure adequate Negro representation on the police force, not only in the Negro community but throughout the city.

"4—Bring about equal housing opportunities for all regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

"5—Realize more adequate recreational facilities for Negroes.

"6—Eliminate employment discrimination.

"7—Persuade merchants to give full dollar, ration point and quality value to Negroes."

David B. Adams, president of the Nassau county branch, was inducted into the army August 1. As president of the branch he was active in securing work in war plants for colored people on Long Island. Mrs. Adams is employed at the Grumman Aircraft corporation in Bethpage, builders of Navy airplanes.

Frank Griffin of New York City was the speaker for the Port Chester branch August 8, scoring jim crow practices in the armed forces and in civilian life. The speaker urged the passage of the anti-poll tax bill and counseled support of organized labor by colored people.

New Mexico: On July 18 the Albuquerque branch heard an address, "When Will the Oppressed Be Free?" by the Rev. C. Leslie Curtice, pastor of the First Congregational church. The meeting was in charge of H. L. LaGrone, branch president.

North Carolina: A feature of the July meeting of the Charlotte branch was the reading of Langston Hughes's "Freedom's Plow" by Maude McMullen. Joseph Maxwell spoke on "I Am an American, Too," and Ollie Rice sang two numbers. Dr. Buford T. Gordon was the other speaker.

Ohio: The Massillon branch held the first of a series of cultural meetings July 11. The series is sponsored by a special committee of which Mrs. Rozelle Richardson is chairman.

Speaker for the Oxford branch September 5 will be Theodore Berry, Esq., of Cincinnati, long active in NAACP work in his city and nationally.

The September 19 meeting of the Paulding branch will have several out-of-town speakers, as yet unannounced. Bernece William is president of the local unit.

Rhode Island: The Newport branch closed its membership campaign August 16. Mrs. Oreitha K. Charles was chairman. Speakers for the closing meeting were James H. Burney, Louis Fourte, and President Lyle Matthews. The NAACP color movie, "On Guard," was shown. The branch is sponsoring an inter-racial committee to combat racial feeling and will appeal to Rhode Island Senators Gerry and Green asking them to demand a federal investigation of race riots. Mrs. Louis Fourte reported on the work of her anti-poll tax committee. The branch continues to work on war housing for colored workers and on rationing.

John F. Lopez, president of the Providence branch, is among the white and colored leaders of the community at work on an interracial committee to prevent incidents of racial friction from becoming serious. One pressing problem is that of recreation for colored people. An increasing number of colored soldiers is passing through or visiting in the city. Numbers of white soldiers from the South have created situations in some of the restaurants, but the committee believes it has the situation in hand.

Tennessee: The newly organized Kingsport branch is now formally at work under the leadership of the Rev. R. J. Kennedy, president. The Rev. G. Parks is vice president, Will Patton treasurer, and Emmett Collins, secretary. A clear statement of the aims of the NAACP was given by Rev. Kennedy to the Kingsport Times in answer to the charge that colored people of Kingsport have organized "to bring about bad race relations."

The Nashville branch held its regular meeting July 27 at the Bethlehem Center.

Texas: The Port Arthur branch is concluding a summer campaign for new members.

West Virginia: Joe Abbott, vice president of the Triadelphia branch spoke at Sarah Ann July 25 and secured several new members.

Back the Attack

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3rd War Loan September, 1943

Color

I am the color of the Earth.
I have rested on her shoulder.
Wept tears on her bosom,
Sung songs at her heart.
I am the color of the Earth.

I am the color of the Road.
I have shaped tired feet in its dust,
Trod on its rocks,
Stumbled up its hills,
Sped down its straight stretch.
I am the color of the Road.

I am the color of the Sun
I have waked to his lusty call,
Dreamed in his nooning
Toiled in his after-glow.
I am the color of the Sun.

Sun,
Earth,
And shining Road!

Brown
Tan
And golden glow!

God-given
To the Negro.

—Mavis B. Mixon

College and School News

(*Continued from page* 261)

fall. New teachers are Miss Geraldine Patterson (voice) and Mrs. Gwendolen B. McMillan. Orrin Clayton Suthern, II, directs the department.

The new dean of instruction is Dr. Ivan Earle Taylor, who has taught at Virginia Union University, Lincoln University (Pa.) and was dean at Samuel Huston College. For the last four years he has taught at Shaw University and St. Augustine's College through a General Education Board grant. He holds degrees from Howard U. and the University of Pennsylvania.

At the end of **Hampton Institute** summer school, 69 men and women received degrees. Exercises were held on August 20. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College delivered the baccalaureate address, while Dr. Jackson Davis of the General Education Board was speaker.

Miss Anne Cooke, formerly head of the Spelman College drama department and head of the Summer Theatre and Summer Theatre School at Atlanta University, has been appointed director of the Communications Center at Hampton Institute. She recently completed residence requirements for the Ph.D. degree at Yale University Graduate School. She spent part of last year as college visitor for the Association of American Colleges. She is a graduate of Oberlin

College and studied at the Chicago Art Theatre and at the American Academy of Dramatic Art in New York City. In 1936 she visited Moscow, studying the Russian theatre.

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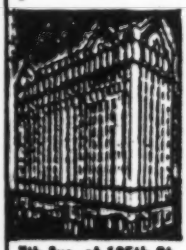

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Telephone: 5998

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1002 French St., Wilmington
Telephone: 3-1924

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Ellis & Westbrooks
3000 S. State St., Chicago, Ill.
Telephone Cal-4968-9

KANSAS

John Q. Sayers
P. O. Box 186, Hill City
Telephone: 1

MICHIGAN

Floyd H. Skinner
Michigan at Monroe Avenue, Grand Rapids
Telephone: 8-9042

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23 Howard Street, Newark
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Telephone: MA-1320

Chester K. Gillespie
416 Hickox Bldg., Cleveland
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OKLAHOMA

Cecil E. Robertson
114 1-2 Court Street, Muskogee
Telephone. 836

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Sadie T. Mossell Alexander
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Theodore Spaulding
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Telephone: Pennypacker 4834

Fitzhugh Lee Styles
2200 West Columbia Ave., Philadelphia
Telephone: Stevenson 6182

VIRGINIA

Martin A. Martin
Southern Aid Building, Danville
Telephone: 2475

Long War and Negro

(*Continued from page* 268)

ing soldiers witnessed three major race riots and the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan. To serve one's country in time of war is an inescapable obligation of citizenship; to expect such service to furnish a preface to racial understanding is to misread the record.

As an integral part of America, the Negro can scarcely hope to benefit by a situation that retards the general progress. A long war will mean the starvation of millions in China, Russia and the occupied countries and the loss of additional millions of lives in the active theatres of war. The Negro cannot disassociate himself from the graver impact of a long war—the sense of frustration that arises from deferred hopes and a constantly lowering standard of living. In an international struggle the Negro has a community of interest with his fellow-Americans; he must take care lest his segregation become spiritual.

To date in this war the Negro has acquitted himself with fortitude in the face of a mountain of discrimination. He is understandably restless. He wants something done about his wrongs. A short war should conduce to this goal. With the war at end—with the civilizing spirit once more in the ascendant, Americans of good will can address themselves anew to the unfinished business of democracy.

This sign greets motorists approaching the city of Vinita, Okla. J. Richardson Jones, of Atlanta, Ga., a free lance photographer known for his moving picture films, especially the story of the Atlanta Life Insurance company, was travelling through Oklahoma and made this shot for THE CRISIS. Mr. Jones suggests that letters to the Mayor of Vinita stating that this sign is offensive to travelers and makes no good will for the city will secure its removal.

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R. W. Bagnall Dies

Dr. Robert W. Bagnall of Philadelphia, Pa., who for 12 years, from 1921 to 1933, was director of branches for the NAACP, died August 20. Funeral services were held August 24 in Philadelphia.

After his resignation from the NAACP in 1933, Dr. Bagnall was called to St. Thomas, one of the two oldest Episcopal parishes in Philadelphia.

It was during his pastorate of St. Matthews Episcopal church in Detroit, Michigan, that Rev. Bagnall became interested in the NAACP. He did a great deal of volunteer work making speeches and organizing branches in what was then known as the Great Lakes region of the NAACP. His work was so outstanding that he was persuaded to take a leave of absence from the ministry and accept the position of director of branches. Under the direction of Rev. Bagnall during the next 12 years the branch department expanded and became the backbone of the NAACP. Mr. Bagnall travelled thousands of miles for the Association and delivered lectures before colleges, forum groups, women's clubs and, of course, branches of the Association. He was a brilliant orator and became known to NAACP delegates for his stirring keynote addresses at annual conferences. In commenting upon Rev. Bagnall's death, Walter White said:

"It is a great shock to hear of Bob Bagnall's death, his passing is a great personal loss to all of us in the NAACP who worked with him. He was a compelling speaker and did much to build the Association as a force for justice for the Negro."

Freedom's Cry

In the still of the dawn I
Heard them cry.
I saw the wild
Geese flying by—
A wedge of black wings
In the sky.
Their crying stirred in
The depths of me
Rebellious longing to be free:
Free as air and the four
Winds be.

—CHARLES ENOCH WHEELER

At **Morehouse College** commencement was held on June 2, with Paul Robeson as speaker. Degrees of bachelor of arts and bachelor of science were awarded to 44 seniors.

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